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Lloyd - George's Speech.

"They Accepted this War for an Object, and a World Object, and the War Will End When That Object Has Been Attained."

The following report of Premier Lloyd George's speech was received via Reuter's Agency at Ottawa by special arrangement between that Association and the Colonial Office. The message is addressed to Hon. P. T. McGrath, Reuter's correspondent here.

LONDON, Dec. 19 (via Reuter's Ottawa Agency).—In opening his speech in the House of Commons this afternoon the Premier, Right Hon. David Lloyd George, said that he appeared before the House with the most terrible responsibility that could fall upon the shoulders of any living man, as chief adviser of the Crown in the most gigantic war in which the country was ever engaged, a war upon the events of which its destiny depends. Not only was it the greatest war ever waged, but its burdens were the heaviest ever cast upon this or any other country, while the issues were the gravest ever attached to any conflict in which humanity had been involved. The responsibilities of the new Government had been suddenly accentuated by the declaration of the German Chancellor. "The statement made by the latter in the Reichstag," he continued, "has been followed by a note presented to us by the United States without comment. An answer will be given by the Government in full accord with our brave Allies. Naturally there has been an interchange of views, not upon the note, because it has only recently arrived, but upon the speech which propelled it, and inasmuch as the note itself is practically only a reproduction, or certainly a paraphrase of that speech, the subject matter of the note itself has been discussed formally. I am very glad to be able to state that we have each separately and independently arrived at identical conclusions. I am glad that the first answer was given by France and Russia, for they have unquestionably the right to give the first answer to such an invitation. The enemy is still on their soil, and their sacrifices have been the greater. That answer has already been published, and on behalf of the Government I give a clear and definite support to it. Any man or set of men who want only, or without sufficient cause, to prolong a terrible conflict like this, would have on his soul a crime that oceans could not cleanse. On the other hand, it is equally true that any man, or set of men who, from a sense of weariness or despair abandoned the struggle without achieving the highest purpose for which we entered it, would be guilty of the costliest act of treason ever perpetrated by any statesman. I should like to quote the very well-known words of Abraham Lincoln under similar conditions: "We accepted this war for an object, and a world object, and the war will end when that object has been attained. Under God I hope it will never end until that time." Are we likely to continue Mr. Lloyd George, to achieve that object by accepting the German Chancellor's invitation?

There Are No Proposals.
What are the proposals? There are none. To enter a conference on the invitation of Germany proclaiming herself victorious without any knowledge of the proposals she proposes to make, is to place our heads into a noose with the rope end in Germany's hands. This country is not altogether without experience in these matters. This is not the first time we have fought a great military despotism overshadowing Europe, and it will not be the first time we have helped to overthrow a military despotism. We can recall one of the greatest of these despots when he had a purpose to serve. In working out his nefarious schemes his favourite device was to appear in the guise of the Angel of Peace. He usually appeared under these conditions when he wished for time to assimilate his conquests or to reorganize his forces for fresh conquests or secondly when his subjects showed symptoms of fatigue and weariness.

The appeal was always made in the name of humanity. He demanded an end to bloodshed at which he professed himself to be horrified but for which he himself was mainly responsible. Our ancestors were taken in once and bitterly they and Europe rued it. The time was devoted to reorganizing his forces for a deadlier attack than ever upon the liberties of Europe. Examples of this kind cause us to regard this note with a considerable measure of remissness. We feel we ought to know before we can give a favorable consideration to such an invitation, that Germany is prepared to accede to the only terms upon which it is possible for peace to be obtained and maintained in Europe. These terms have been repeatedly stated by all the leading statesmen of the Allies.

Restoration and Reparation.
Asquith has stated them repeatedly. It is important that there should be no mistake in a matter of life and death to millions, therefore I will repeat them again, namely: Complete restoration and full reparation and effective guarantees. Has the German Chancellor used a single phrase indicating that he was prepared to accept such a peace? The very substance and style of his speech constitute a denial of peace on the only terms upon which peace is possible—he is against the rights of free nations. Listen to this from the German note: "Not for an instant have Central Powers swerved from their conviction that respect for the rights of other nations is not in any degree compatible with their own rights and legitimate interests." When did they discover that? Where was the respect for the rights of other nations in Belgium and Serbia? That was self-defence, I suppose, menaced by the overwhelming enemies in Belgium. (Laughter.) I suppose that the Germans had been intimidated into invading Belgium, burning Belgian cities and villages, massacring thousands of inhabitants, old and young, carrying the survivors into bondage. They were carrying them into slavery, when this note was being written about their unswerving conviction as to respect for the rights of other nations. Are these outrages legitimate interests of Germany? We must know that it is not the moment for peace if excuses of this kind for palpable crimes can be put forward two and a half years after the exposure by grim facts of the guarantee. Is there, I ask in all solemnity, any guarantee that similar subterfuges will not be used in future to overthrow any treaty of peace you may enter into with Prussian militarism? This note and the speech prove that not yet have they learned the very alphabet of respect for the rights of others. (Cheers.)

Peace Without Reparation.
Without reparation peace is impossible. (Cheers.) Are all these outrages against humanity on land and sea to be liquidated by a few pious phrases about humanity? Is there to be no reckoning for them? Are we to grasp the hand that perpetrated these atrocities in friendship without any reparation being tendered or given? Germany leaves us to exact damage for all further violence committed after the war. We have already begun. It has cost us much and we must exact it now so as not to leave such a grim inheritance to our children. Much as we all long for peace, deeply as we are horrified with war, this note and the speech which heralded it do not afford us much encouragement and hope for an honourable and lasting peace. What hope is given in that speech? The whole root and cause of this great bitterness, the arrogant spirit of the Prussian military caste will soon be as dominant as ever if we patch up a peace now. (Cheers.) After pointing out that the speech in which peace proposals were suggested resounded

to the boast of Prussian military triumph, Mr. Lloyd George declared we must keep a steadfast eye upon the purpose for which we entered the war, otherwise the great sacrifices we have been making will be in vain. The German note states that it was for the defence of their existence and freedom for national development that the Central Powers were constrained to take up arms. Such phrases defeat even those who pen them. They are intended to delude the German nation into supporting the designs of Prussian military caste. Who ever wished to put an end to Germany's national existence or their freedom for national development? We welcomed their development so long as it was on the paths of peace. The Allies entered this war to defend Europe against aggression of Prussian military domination, and having begun it must insist that the only end is the most complete and effective guarantee against the possibility of that caste ever again disturbing the peace of Europe. (Cheers.)

Prussia A Bad Neighbour.
Prussia since she got into the hands of that caste has been a bad neighbour—arrogant, threatening, bullying shifting boundaries at her will—taking one fair field after another from weaker neighbours. With her belt ostentatiously full of weapons of offense, and ready at a moment's notice to use them, she always has been, and unpleasant and disturbing neighbour in Europe. (Hear, hear.) It is difficult for those living thousands of miles away to understand what it has meant to those who lived near her. Even here, with the protection of the broad seas between us we knew what a disturbing factor the Prussians were with their constant naval menace, but even we can hardly realize what it has meant to France and Russia. Now that this war has been forced by the Prussian military leaders upon France, Russia, Italy and ourselves, it would be cruel folly not to see to it that this swabbing through the streets of Europe to the disturbance of all harmless and peaceful citizens, shall be dealt with now as an offence against the law of nations. (Cheers.) "The mere word that led Belgium to her own destruction will not satisfy Europe any more. We all believe it; we all trust it. It gave way to the first pressure of temptation, and Europe has been plunged into the vortex of blood. We will therefore wait until we hear what terms and guarantees the German Government offer other than those which she so limply broke and in the meantime we shall put our trust in an unbroken army rather than in a broken faith. (Loud cheers.) "Let us for a moment," continued the Premier, "look at the worst."

Roumanian Blunder Unfortunate.
The Roumanian blunder was unfortunate, but the worst is it prolongs the war. It does not alter the full damage facts of the war, I cannot help hoping that it may even have a salutary effect in calling the attention of the Allies to obvious defects in the Allies' organization, not mere in the organization of the whole. If it does that and braces them to fresh efforts it may prove, bad as it is, a blessing in disguise. It has been a real set back. It is the one cloud, it is the darkest cloud that appeared on our learning horizon. We are doing our best to make it impossible that that disaster should lead to a worse one. We mean to take no risks. We have decided to take definite and decisive action and I think it has succeeded. We have decided to recognize the agents of the great Greek statesman Venizelos. (Cheers.) I should like to say one word about the lesson of the fighting on the western front, about the significance of the whole of that great struggle, one of the greatest ever waged in the his-

tory of the world. It is full of encouragement and hope. Just look at it! An absolutely new army—the old army had done its duty and spent itself in the achievement of that great task. This is a new army. But a year ago it was of the earth of Britain, yes, and Ireland. It became iron. (Cheers.)

Absolutely New Army.
It has passed through the fiery furnace and the enemy knows it is now fine steel. (Cheers.) This new army, new men, new officers, Generals new to this kind of work, have faced the greatest army in the world, the best equipped and best trained, and have beaten them, beaten them! (Loud cheers.) Battle after battle, day after day, week after week, in the strongest entrenchments ever devised by human skill, they have driven them out by a valor which is incredible but which gives us hope, which fills you all with pride in the nation to which they belong. It is a fact that and full of significance for us, and for the foe (Cheers.) The enemy has seen that army grow under his very eyes. They are becoming veterans and therefore, basing our confidence upon these facts, I am as convinced as I ever was of our ultimate victory if the nation proves as steady, as valiant, as ready to sacrifice and learn and endure as that great army on the Somme. (Loud Cheers.)

The New Government.
The Premier proceeded to refer to the new Government, remarking that he was anxious in doing so, to avoid all issues that indicated irritation, controversy or disunion. It must not be assumed, he said, that he accepted as complete, the accounts which had been given of the way in which the Government was formed. He was convinced that the controversies would not help. As regards the future, therefore, so far as he was concerned, he placed them on one side. Speaking of the unusual character and composition of the Government as in executive body, he said the House had realized that there had been a separation between the functions of Premier and Leader of the House. That was because these two offices were more than one man could undertake. There were three characteristics, he continued, in which the present administration might be said to have departed perhaps from precedents.—first, there was the concentration of the executive power in a very few hands; second, there was the choosing of men of administrative and business capacity rather than men of parliamentary experience, when they were unable to obtain both, for the holdship of a great department; and, third, there was franker and fuller recognition of the partnership of labor in the Government. No Government in the country had ever contained such a large representation of labor. They realized that it was impossible to conduct the war without getting the complete and unqualified support of labor. Also, they were anxious to obtain labor's assistance and counsel for the purpose of conducting the war.

The previous administration had become Peace structures organized for a different purpose and for different conditions. A craft suitable for river or canal was not exactly the kind of vessel for the high seas. He was not here referring to the last Cabinet but to the old system of cabinets, in which the heads of every department were represented inside the Cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George, after dealing with the peace problem, touched upon the general policy which would be inaugurated by the new Government. With respect to the question of food supplies, he said, "The main facts are plain. The harvests of the United States and Canada are failures, and the Argentine promises badly. Rus-

sia is unavailable and our own harvest is poor, while only three eights of the normal winter sowing has taken place owing to bad weather.

Food Controller.
Under these circumstances the late Government decided to appoint a Food Controller. We appealed to the nation to assist the Government in the distribution of our resources, so that no man shall suffer hunger because somebody else has too much. That means sacrifice, but the men on the Somme are enduring far greater sacrifices." An announcement was made by the Premier that more drastic steps would be taken regarding excess profits. He referred also to the proposals for universal mobilization of labour, saying, "We propose to appoint immediately a Director of National Service, who would be in charge of the matter of universal national service. The Military Director would be responsible for securing for the army. The Civil Director will begin by scheduling all industries and services, according to their character, as essential or non-essential to the war." Certain industries would be classed as indispensable, while others would be drawn on for the men required either for the army or for indispensable industries. "The nation is fighting for life and is entitled to the best services of all citizens. The Government has been fortunate in including Arthur Neville Chamberlain, Lord Mayor of Birmingham, to accept the post of Director General under this scheme. He will immediately proceed to organize a great system of enrollment for industrial purposes." After making an announcement in regard to the nationalization of shipping, Mr. Lloyd-George said the Admiralty, and he hoped that it would be possible shortly to announce, not merely the plan for more effective use of ships on the register, but for the construction of ships to make good the wastage of war. Of the cooperation between the Entente Allies he said, "As to our relations with our Allied venture, I say we would seek two things: 'unity of aim,' and 'unity of action.' Before we can take full advantage of the enormous resources of the Allies there must be some means of arriving at clear decisions and carrying them out.

"I believe if this is done it will serve to equalize conditions. There must be more consultation between men in the matter of the direction of affairs. There must be less feeling that each country has got its own front to look after. The must be a just policy of a common front; there must be recognition by all the Allies that there is only one front, instead of having overwhelming guns at one spot and bare breasts, gallant breasts, at another.

The Irish Problem.
The solution of the Irish problem, said the Premier, was largely one of a better atmosphere. "I wish I could say something definite about Ireland," he continued. "I have already had preliminary conferences regarding Ireland, and the Cabinet will take the matter up. I look on an Irish settlement as a great and a necessary war undertaking, and a satisfactory solution would be a great victory for the Allied cause." "I am convinced that the Irish situation is a misunderstanding—partly religious. We shall ask men of all creeds and faiths to help us to do something which will be a real contribution toward winning the war."

An Imperial Conference.
Paying a tribute to the contributions of the Dominions to the prosecution of the war, Mr. Lloyd George said, the new administration was just as full of gratitude as the old for the superb valor of our kinsmen, and he believed that the Dominions ought to be more fully consulted as to the progress and course of the war, as to the steps that ought to be taken to secure victory, and as to the best methods of garnering its fruits.

"We propose, therefore, at an early date," he went on, "to summon an Imperial Conference and place the whole position before the Dominions taken together, in order to achieve and complete a triumph for the ideals they and we are fighting for."

Lloyd-George's Message To Newfoundland

From the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies to His Excellency Sir W. E. Davidson, K.C.M.G., Governor of Newfoundland.

19 December, 1916.
Following for your Prime Minister from Prime Minister:—

On taking in hand the high office with which His Majesty has charged me I send you on behalf of the people of the Old Country a message to our brothers beyond the seas. There is no faltering in my determination that the sacrifices which we and you have made and have still to make, shall not

be in vain and that the fight which we are waging together for humanity and civilization shall be fought to a triumphant issue. We realize we shall need every man that we can put into the field, every pound that rigid public and private economy can provide and every effort which a united people can put forth to help the heavy task of our soldiers and sailors. The splendid contributions to the common cause already made by the Dominions give me sure confidence that their determination is no less high than ours and that however long the path to final victory we shall tread it side by side.
LLOYD GEORGE.

England Applauds

London Newspapers Say That Premier Has Spoken For The Nation

LONDON, Dec. 20.—The bulk of the morning papers agree that Lloyd George expressed the views of the British nation in his speech. "The Premier," says the Times, "expressed the thoughts and the wishes of the nation and laid down a programme which will command hearty support." This is the tone of comment in most other papers, who hold that the Premier's answer and also Lord Curzon's speech in the Lords, are moderate in phrase and in form and unanswerable in substance. The papers declare that the nation is prepared and will willingly undertake all the sacrifices foreshadowed and will face greater privations if necessary to ensure these ends of reparation and security which the Allies demand from the Central Powers. There is nowhere any hostile criticism of the Government's declaration, but the Daily News comments that the forecast of measures of the organization of the nation do little more than indicate that the policy of the late Government would be continued and extended. It says that if the new Gov-

ernment succeeds as well as its predecessor, the nation will be grateful and that if it succeeds the nation will be more than grateful. At the same time newspaper comments point out the possibility of negotiations being undertaken notwithstanding the strong statements of the Premier and Lord Curzon, and their endorsement by members of the late Government. Thus the Daily News says that the door is not necessarily banged and bolted and that the Allies' flat refusal of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg's offer is not meant to indicate that the Allies do not wish peace, but that Germany must ask it in the role of the vanquished and not as victor. The News expressed the hope that the Allies will speedily agree on price and terms on which they will be willing to negotiate. Even the Mail, which has always demanded extreme measures against Germany, says there is no obstacle whatever to peace if Germany really want it. She has thereby to withdraw from the occupied countries and we are willing enough to discuss reparation and guarantees for the future.

ELOQUENT PERORATION

LONDON, Dec. 20.—The following are a few of the most striking sentences from the latest part of Lloyd George's speech: "An absolutely new army, the old had done its duty and spent itself in the achievement of that great task. This is a new army. But a year ago it was of the earth of Britain, yes, and Ireland. It became iron, it has passed through the fiery furnace, and the enemy knows that it is now fine steel." "An absolutely new army, new men, new officers taken from schools, boys from schools, from colleges, from counting houses, never trained to war, never thought of war. Many, perhaps, never handled weapons of war. Generals never given an opportunity of handling great masses of men. They have faced the greatest army in the world; the greatest army the world has ever seen; the best equipped, the best trained. They have beaten them, beaten them, beaten them in battle after battle, day after day, week after week in the strongest entrenchments ever devised by human skill. They have driven them out by valor, a valor which is incredible, when you read the story of it."

"I have no doubt that the old Cabinets were better adapted to navigate the Parliamentary river in its shoals side of the domestic problems before the new ministry, Mr. Lloyd George said: "We are anxious to avoid all controversial questions. The functions of the Premier and the Leader of the House of Commons have been separated because it was believed that the double tasks were too much for one man. The organization of the new Cabinet is best adapted for the purpose of war. In war you want prompt decision, and the Allies have suffered disaster after disaster from tardiness of decision."

and shifting sands and perhaps for a cruise in home waters, but a Cabinet of twenty-three was rather too heavy for a gale. I don't say that this new draft is the best adapted for Parliamentary navigation, but I am convinced that it is the best for war. It is true that in a multitude of councils there is wisdom, but that was written for Oriental countries and in peace times. You can't have absolute equality in sacrifice. In war that is impossible; but you can have equal readiness to bear sacrifices from all. There are hundreds of thousands who have given their lives. There are millions who have given up comfortable homes and exchanged them for daily communion with death. Multitudes have given up these whole and the ones they loved best that the nation may place its comforts, its luxuries, its indulgence and its elegancies on the altar consecrated by such sacrifices as these men have made. Let us proclaim during the war a national Lent. The nation will be better and stronger for it, mentally and morally, as well as physically. It will strengthen its future and without it we shall not get the full benefit of this struggle. Our armies may drive the enemy out of the battered villages of France and across the devastated plains of Belgium. They might lure him across the Rhine in battered disarray, but unless the nation as a whole shoulders part of the burden of victory it won't profit by the triumph, for it is not what a nation gains, but what it gives that makes it great."

The Premier's peroration was as follows: "If in this war I have paid scant heed to the call of party, it is because I realized from the moment that Prussian cannon hurled death at a peaceable and inoffensive little country that a challenge had been sent to civilization to decide an issue higher than party, deeper than party, wider than party."
(continued on page 5.)

—REUTER.